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Gender differences in perceived workplace harassment and gender egalitarianism: A comparative cross-national analysis

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Abstract

Using 2015 International Social Survey Program (ISSP) data on 38,179 individuals from 36 countries in 9 relatively homogeneous global regions, we analyze the gender differences and the gender gap in perceived workplace harassment (PWH) with particular attention to gender equality's and gender egalitarianism's roles in molding these differences. We find that despite large regional differences, women in most countries are more likely than men to perceive workplace harassment, although this likelihood is higher in countries that score favorably on our gender equality measures. Hence, political empowerment and better economic opportunities alter women's perceptions of workplace harassment, increasing the probability of their experiencing it. Our results also underscore the important roles of values and gender egalitarian practices. Whereas enhanced gender egalitarianism values increase women's perceptions of workplace harassment, concrete practices tend to reduce them. Especially for management, this result highlights the importance of actually implementing gender equality policies at a corporate level, because a discrepancy between corporate values and practices on this issue will only accentuate the perception of harassment.

1 | INTRODUCTION

Although the MeToo movement has increased attention to sexual harassment across the globe, one specific form of harassment that particularly affects women is that which occurs in the workplace, also referred to as workplace bullying or mobbing. Although workplace harassment is a broad concept that has been defined in myriad ways (Yamada et al., 2018), one general definition that encompasses all its major facets is "the systematic exhibition of aggressive behavior at work directed towards a subordinate, a coworker, or even a superior, as well as the perception of being systematically exposed to such mistreatment while at work" (Einarsen et al., 2011, p. 5). What all definitions of workplace harassment have in common is that the behavior in question negatively impacts the health and well-being of the individual being harassed (Yamada et al., 2018), while also reducing job satisfaction, raising stress levels, and increasing the

probability of depression and even cardiovascular problems (Aquino & Thau, 2009; Einarsen & Mikkelsen, 2003; Harnois & Bastos, 2018; Kivimäki et al., 2003).

Interestingly, although the empirical evidence is inconclusive, women may not necessarily be more likely to be harassed than men (Bowling & Beehr, 2006). That is, whereas some studies show women as more likely to become targets of workplace harassment (e.g., Berdahl & Moore, 2006; Björkqvist et al., 1994; Cortina at al., 2001), others find no gender differences (e.g., Einarsen & Skogstad, 1996; Leymann, 1996). This absence may seem surprising given both the large body of research identifying women as more exposed to physical violence (e.g., Foshee, 1996) and the fact that bullying is often aimed at less powerful workers lower in the organizational hierarchy, who are more often female than male (Salin, 2003). Perhaps the main reason for such inconclusiveness is that most empirical studies on harassment focus on perceived (subjective) harassment, which may

not always coincide with objective harassment measures. In fact, not only may sexually harassed women not always see themselves as victims (Fitzgerald et al., 1988; Munson et al., 2001), but perceptions of what constitutes harassment may differ among cultures. Yet as Giorgi et al., (2015) point out, victims of bullying usually try to determine the cause and severity of the unwelcome attention by considering it in light of existing cultural norms and social contexts. In turn, the perceptions generated within this sense-making process influence the magnitude and the direction of the victim's reactions. Not surprisingly, then, several cross-cultural studies reveal that both perceptions of workplace harassment and the distress experienced by the harassed differ across cultures (e.g., Arenas et al., 2015; Liu et al., 2008; Loh et al., 2010). Whether women are more likely to experience and acknowledge workplace harassment thus greatly depends on the cultural and social setting. This aspect is of particular relevance for the management of culturally diverse teams or the interaction with stakeholders along international supply chains: only with a clear understanding of different culture-specific perceptions of harassment can effective preventive policies be developed.

One aspect that has received little attention in the literature, but which is the focus of this study, is the extent of and reasons for male–female differences in perceived workplace harassment (PWH). From a managerial perspective, such perceptions are just as important as objective harassment because of their ability to negatively influence outcomes for both the individual and the organization. Moreover, large gender gaps in PWH indicate that women are more systematically affected by harassment, not necessarily because more objective harassment exists but perhaps because of different perceptions of what harassment is.

A primary aim of this study, therefore, is to assess how such perceptions are associated with social context and existing cultural norms. In particular, we argue that gender equality (manifested in equal economic opportunities or female political empowerment) and gender egalitarianism (manifested in societal attitudes and values on gender equality) has a strong effect on PWH gender differences. Although the literature makes a distinction between equality and egalitarianism, both concepts initially revolve around the question "equality of what?", which is generally addressed with regards to the distribution of primary social goods (Rawls), welfare and welfare opportunities (Arneson), resources (Dworkin), capabilities (Sen), or access to advantage (Cohen) "as currencies of egalitarian justice" (see Lippert-Rasmussen & Eyal, 2012 p. 143; Hansson, 2001). According to Hansson (2001) the simplest understanding of equality is that of "equal shares or sameness of allotments" (p. 530), which makes the concept a measurable fact and thus objective. Egalitarianism, which is characterized by the sum of social attitudes and practices (Hiebaum, 2015), does not strive for perfect equality but can be described as an effort to bring society closer together in a broader sense. What makes the concept of equality strongly egalitarian, however, is part of the debate about what value a society attributes to equality (Hansson, 2001).

By influencing the perceptions and preferences, all these gender equality and egalitarianism dimensions can determine how men and women think about workplace harassment. Hence, building on Falk and Hermle's (2018) finding that gender differences in the willingness to take risks, patience, altruism, and positive and negative reciprocity increase with gender equality, we use representative survey data from 36 countries to investigate how PWH gender differences are associated with the extent of gender equality and egalitarianism in a society. Our study is thus the first comprehensive cross-national and cross-cultural analysis we know of that not only documents the extent of PWH in different regions but, in a novel approach, helps to explain PWH gender differences by linking them to five index-based measures of gender equality and egalitarianism. We thus contribute to the literature on workplace harassment by directly addressing two main drawbacks in much of the existing studies: first, most studies analyze nonrepresentative samples, making both national and cross-national generalizations difficult. Second, cross-cultural analyses are usually conducted on a very small set of countries, whereas a "culture" is often best captured among a multitude of countries.

Vandekerckhove and Commers (2003) state that workplace harassment is often reduced to a conflict management issue, which is depicted as a mere problem of conflict between "good guys" and "bad guys." Instead, ethical considerations need to be integrated (Vandekerckhove & Commers, 2003; Wornham, 2003) and power dynamics within organizations need to be considered (Hutchinson et al., 2010) in order to explain the causes of workplace mobbing. Thus, although mostly neglected in organizational studies, Foucault's work on organizational power relationships offers a comprehensive framework to examine the workplace harassment as a feature of power and knowledge structures (Hutchinson & Jackson, 2015). From Foucault's perspective, power and knowledge form an inextricable bond in that the "exercise of power perpetually creates knowledge and, conversely, knowledge constantly induces effects of power" (Foucault, 1980a, p. 51–52, as cited in Barker & Cheney, 1994). Not only the creation, identification, and definition, but also the control of power and knowledge require "rules of right" which legitimize power relationships and "normalize and control individual and collective behavior" (Barker & Cheney, 1994, p. 24). At the same time, power is only tolerable if "it masks a substantial part of itself" (Foucault, 1980b, p. 86, as cited in Barker & Cheney, 1994) by means of these norms and rules of right. Workplace harassment is the exercise of power manifested outside the rules of right and, therefore, without legitimation (Vandekerckhove & Commers, 2003). From this theoretical perspective, the present study might, therefore, also provide valuable insights into the role that gender equality and egalitarianism plays in influencing these rules of right and, in particular, how increases in gender equality and egalitarianism unmask existing power structures within organizations, rendering certain behaviors no longer acceptable to those without power.

2 | PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Although numerous studies over the last few decades explore workplace harassment or bullying, two strands of this literature are of

particular relevance to our research. One addresses gender differences in the prevalence of workplace harassment; the other analyzes the prevalence and implications of harassment across different cultures (see Table A4 for an overview).

2.1 | Gender differences in PWH prevalence

Gender differences in workplace harassment depend primarily on varying perceptions and the acceptability of bullying (e.g., Einarsen, 1999; Escartín et al., 2011 et al., 2011; Hoel & Cooper, 2000). More specifically, different interpretations of bullying (e.g., Einarsen et al., 2011; Kabat-Farr & Cortina, 2012), different forms of harassment (e.g., Moreno-Jiménez, 2008), and differing coping strategies (e.g., Jóhannsdóttir & Ólafsson, 2004) affect the prevalence rates reported by men versus women. From the viewpoint of social power theory, which posits that less socially powerful individuals may feel more intimidated and stressed by negative behaviors (Cortina et al., 2001), the fact that women generally have less power within organizations may make them more likely to perceive harassment (Einarsen & Skogstad, 1996; Rayner, 1997; Salin & Hoel, 2013; Zapf et al., 2011). In certain environments, women may also not be fully accepted in the workplace, making them more likely targets of harassment (Giorgi et al., 2013). In fact, some studies show that in male-dominated or male majority organizations, women are more likely to be harassed than men (Einarsen, 2000; Eriksen & Einarsen, 2004; Leymann, 1996; Salin, 2003). Conversely, in female-dominated or female majority organizations, men are often more likely to be the victims of harassment (Eriksen & Einarsen, 2004). As can be seen in Table A4, most studies support the notion that women are more likely to face harassment than men. Some studies, however, reveal that no significant difference exists (e.g., Einarsen & Skogstad, 1996; Lange et al., 2019) and a few even show that men are more likely to be harassed than women (e.g., Cunniff & Mostert, 2012).

2.2 | Cross-national evidence on the prevalence and implications of harassment

According to cross-national research, the prevalence of both objective and perceived workplace bullying differs across countries, with relatively low rates in Scandinavian countries (Björkqvist et al., 1994; Einarsen & Skogstad, 1996; Leymann, 1996; Mikkelsen & Einarsen, 2001; Nielsen et al., 2009; Vartia & Hyyti, 2002) but high levels in Anglo-Saxon and Southern European countries (Cowie et al., 2000; Hoel & Cooper, 2000; Lim, 2011; Loh et al., 2010; Lutgen-Sandvik et al., 2007; Moreno-Jiménez et al., 2008). Such cross-national differences tend to be largely linked to cultural differences in the perception and conceptualization of bullying (e.g., Einarsen, 2000; Einarsen et al., 2011; Escartín, Zapf, et al., 2011; Salin et al., 2019). For example, Jacobson et al. (2014), drawing on House et al.'s (2004) cultural dimensions theory, identify

assertiveness, power distance, and in-group collectivism as the most salient dimensions for interpreting workplace bullying. More specifically, countries with high power distance, high assertiveness, and collectivism tend to have relatively low levels of harassment (Guneri Cangarli et al., 2013; Lim, 2011; Nielsen et al., 2009) but are also more tolerant of it (Giorgi et al., 2015; Salin, 2003) and less likely to perceive certain actions as bullying (Lutgen-Sandvik et al., 2007). Nielsen et al. (2009) also point out that a feminist culture promotes gender equality and socializes individuals not to be aggressive and dominating in their interactions with others. Such a culture (common in Scandinavian countries) reduces the prevalence of harassment relative to that in more masculine cultures such as the U.S. Ample evidence also exists that the effects of harassment are felt differently depending on culture, leading to culture-specific effects of harassment on job satisfaction (e.g., Cortina et al., 2001; Giorgi et al., 2015; Loh et al., 2010), intentions to quit (e.g., Houshmand et al., 2012; Salin & Notelaers, 2017; Tepper et al., 2009), and health and psychological well-being (e.g., Cooper et al., 2004; Hansen et al., 2006).

Yet as Table A4 shows, much of the research conducted within both these strands of literature suffer from the limitation that the samples analyzed are seldom representative, making both national and cross-national generalizations difficult. In addition, cross-cultural analyses are usually conducted on a very small set of countries, which impairs any statistical inference about how culture is associated with harassment. In our paper, therefore, we not only assess how cross-cultural differences affect gender differences in PWH but also use a sufficiently large sample (38,179 individuals from 36 countries) to provide valid statistical evidence on how different levels and forms of gender equality and egalitarianism in different cultures influence male versus female perceptions of workplace harassment.

3 | HYPOTHESIS DEVELOPMENT

Certain of our hypotheses, like those of Falk and Hermle (2018), can be based on either the social role theory or the resource theory, two competing paradigms that make distinct predictions about how male–female preference differences evolve along with economic development and greater gender equality.[1]

Social role theory, which is also applied as gender theory (Eagly & Wood, 2016), postulates that men and women are exposed to different role expectations and role behavior due to social and cultural norms and according to their different position in society (Eagly, 1987). As pointed out by Eagly and Wood (1999), individuals' ability to consider and express their personal characteristics, capabilities, and preferences depends largely on the extent to which they are able to decide individually whether and to what extent they wish to take on a particular role. As these authors further note, social systems are generally designed in such a way that individuals acting in a norm-oriented manner behave in a manner that fulfill social roles and meet role expectations. The self-concepts, abilities, convictions, and

values of individuals are decisively determined and shaped by these socially predetermined role expectations (Eagly & Wood, 1999).

Gender roles are particularly deeply rooted in society's view of the division of labor between men and women (Eagly & Wood, 1999), and economic development is seen as a decisive factor for social progress toward gender equality (Duflo, 2012). Increasing gender equality leads to the dissolution of existing (traditional) gender roles and allows individuals to break away from the societal restrictions of occupying gender-typical roles (Eagly, 2013). As a consequence, this should lead to a reduction in gender-specific differences in preferences (Falk & Hermle, 2018).

The resource theory argues that the unrestricted expression of preferences depends on the availability of sufficient material and social resources. Accordingly, gender preference differences should reveal themselves only when both women and men have sufficient access to resources to independently develop and express their intrinsic preferences (Falk & Hermle, 2018), which for women means only when they have acquired the material and social resources to develop their own preferences independent of social norms and traditions.

Whereas Falk and Hermle (2018) apply these two theories to the analysis of gender-specific preferences, we apply them to PWH under the same logic. That is, as gender equality increases, under the social role hypothesis, the different gender perceptions of workplace harassment will converge and become more similar, while under the resource hypothesis, women's perceptions of what constitutes workplace harassment may not only become broader and more sensitive, but may also deviate from those of men. Given Falk and Hermle's (2018) evidence that gender differences in preferences, such as willingness to take risks, patience, altruism, and positive and negative reciprocity, actually diverge with increasing gender equality, we formulate our first hypothesis as follows:

Hypothesis 1 *The PWH gender gap will be larger in countries that score higher on objective measures of gender equality in material and social resources.*

In addition, previous research has shown that gender egalitarian values and practices do not necessarily go hand in hand (Brewster & Padavic, 2000). Put simply, a society may value gender equality without being objectively gender-equal. With reference to European countries, Kjeldstad and Lappegård (2014) even refer to a paradoxical simultaneity of gender egalitarian values and inegalitarian practices. According to Bühlmann et al. (2010), systematic discrepancies between gender values and practices arise primarily because the implementation of values in practice is shaped by social structures and constraints. Particularly, egalitarian gender values thus become differently realizable depending on social structures, whereby different regimes of welfare and labor market policy play an important role in this regard (Bühlmann et al., 2010).

Indeed, there are ample examples of countries that have more traditional gender values yet promote gender equality in the labor market (e.g., China), or countries with less traditional gender values

that have institutional restrictions that inhibit gender equality in the labor market (e.g., Switzerland). Therefore, we posit that a strong deviation between perceptions of egalitarian values and egalitarian practices––that is, between "how it is" and "how it should be"––makes gender inequality particularly salient, increasing the PWH gender gap.

Hypothesis 2 *The PWH gender gap will be larger in societies that have a strong deviation between perceptions of gender egalitarian practices and values.*

4 | DATA AND METHODS

4.1 | Data set

Our analysis is based on data from the 2015 International Social Survey Program (ISSP), a continuous program of cross-national collaboration that administers annual surveys on topics important to the social sciences. Begun in 1984 with four founding members, the program has now grown to about 50 member countries across the globe. Although the 1989, 1997, and 2005 surveys also focused on work orientation, only the 2015 survey collected PWH data in addition to information on job attitudes and characteristics. We thus analyze a sample of 38,179 individuals from 36 countries; namely, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Chile, China, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Georgia, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, Iceland, India, Israel, Japan, Latvia, Lithuania, Mexico, New Zealand, Norway, the Philippines, Poland, Russia, Slovakia, Slovenia, South Africa, Spain, Suriname, Sweden, Switzerland, Taiwan (Province of China), and the United States (see Table A1 for summary statistics).

4.2 | Measuring workplace harassment

Our workplace harassment measure is based on responses to the single corresponding item on the ISSP survey: "Over the past five years, have you been harassed by your superiors or co-workers at your job; for example, have you experienced any bullying, physical or psychological abuse?" The ISSP interviewers also clarified that workplace harassment "includes a wide range of offensive behaviors that are threatening or disturbing to the victim and is not limited to sexual harassment." As in our study we are interested in assessing perceptions of harassment, the use of such a single item self-labeling measure is more appropriate than the so-called operational methods that captures bullying by asking respondents to report the frequency of exposure to an inventory of negative behaviors (Ciby & Raya, 2015). However, ideally, perceptions could be measured by asking individuals to assess hypothetical situations in which potential harassment is presented. Such data in a cross-national setting covering many countries are not available. The approach taken in this paper is to use a broad and quite general question related to harassment that is one

that covers all kinds of workplace harassment in the past 5 years. Thus, this question measures whether an individual *perceives* to have *experienced* harassment.

4.3 | Measuring gender equality

In order to test the two hypotheses outlined above, three different operationalizations of gender equality and egalitarianism are needed.

4.3.1 | Hypothesis 1––Measures of gender equality that capture objective gender differences

In order to capture the objective gender differences, we use data from the World Economic Forum (WEF). First, we use three indices from the WEF's Global Gender Gap Index 2015: "economic participation and opportunity," "political empowerment," and "overall gender gap." The economic participation and opportunity indices cover three dimensions: participation (male/female difference in labor force participation), remuneration (ratio of estimated female-to-male earned income and a qualitative indicator of wage equality for similar work), and advancement (ratio of women to men among legislators, senior officials, and managers; and ratio of women to men among technical and professional workers). Political empowerment captures gender differences at the highest level of political decision making and is measured by the ratio of women to men in ministerial and parliamentary positions. The overall gender gap index comprises four sub-indices: "economic participation and opportunity," "political empowerment," "health and survival," and "educational attainment" (see Table A2 for the index constructs and measurement).

4.3.2 | Hypothesis 2––Measures of gender egalitarianism captured by values and practices

In order to measure gender egalitarianism on the basis of values and practices, we use data from the *Global Leadership & Organizational Behavior Effectiveness (GLOBE) Project*. We employ two indices from GLOBE: "gender egalitarianism social values" and "gender egalitarianism social practices." Gender egalitarianism, one of nine cultural dimensions in the GLOBE data set, is measured along two dimensions: social values ("how gender egalitarianism should be") and social practices ("how gender egalitarianism actually is"), each measured by five questions (see Table A3).

4.4 | Association between gender equality/egalitarianism and perceived harassment

To model the hierarchical structure of our cross-sectional data using individual respondents within countries, we use multilevel

(hierarchical) regressions and, given our interest in the effects of the country-level gender equality and egalitarianism indices, estimate random effects models that allow inclusion of both individual-specific and country-level explanatory variables, and random country-specific parameters. Because our dependent variable is binary, we apply the following nonlinear logistic regression (logit model):

$$\log\left(\text{odds}\left(y_{ij}\right)\right) = \alpha + \beta X_{ij} + \gamma Z_j + \varepsilon_{ij} + u_j$$

where y_{ij} is a binary outcome variable indicating whether individual *i* in country *j* perceives being harassed in the last 5 years. X_{ij} is a set of individual characteristic variables (age, age^2, education, and education^2), Z_j is the country-level gender equality or egalitarianism index (whose associated coefficient γ is of particular interest), and ε_{ij} and u_j denote individual and country random effects, respectively. The regressions incorporate each of the gender equality and egalitarianism indices one by one. Instead of estimating these regressions for women and men separately, we estimate full interaction models, and interact each covariate with a dummy for being female.[2]

5 | RESULTS

As Figure 1 shows, the extent of PWH varies greatly across countries, ranging from under 5% for Hungary and Georgia to well over 25% for Australia, New Zealand, and India. Although no obvious pattern emerges for PWH prevalence, Japan scores highest on the PWH gender gap ranking (10.2%). In all countries except 11 (none of them Western European or Anglo-Saxon), women are more likely than men to face PWH, but in only 9 countries (all high income and 3 in Scandinavia) is the difference between women and men larger than 5 percentage points.

In Figures 2 and 3, we plot the PWH gender gap, that is, the difference between the proportion of women and men who have perceived PWH, for each country in combination with the various gender indices. The blue lines represent a linear descriptive relationship between the PWH gender gap and the gender indices. In Figure 2, we document clear positive correlations between the PWH gender gap and economic opportunity ($r = .51, p = .002$), political empowerment ($r = .27, p = .118$), and the composite gender gap ($r = .45, p = .006$). These correlations support Hypothesis 1 that more gender equality (measured with objective and national outcomes) increases the PWH gender gap, which in turn supports the resource hypothesis. Plotting the results for the GLOBE-based measures in Figure 3 paints a slightly more nuanced picture: although the PWH gender gap is positively correlated with the index capturing gender egalitarianism *values* ($r = .33, p = .093$), we observe no large or significant correlation with the index capturing gender egalitarianism *practices* ($r = -.03, p = .876$). This outcome supports the notion that perceptions of harassment are formed differently depending on whether gender egalitarianism is merely strived for or actually implemented in practice. In fact, the bottom graph in Figure 3 indicates that the
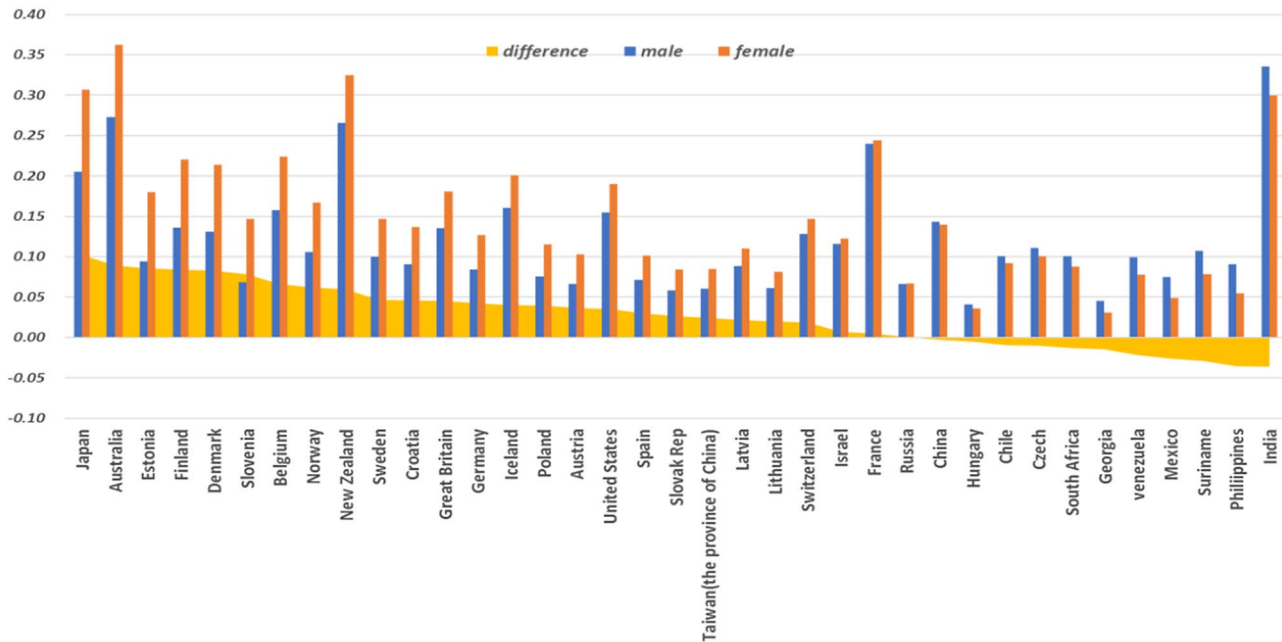
FIGURE 1 Workplace harassment by country and region based on 2015 ISSP data. The bars show the proportion of males and females that experienced workplace harassment, with the curve depicting the difference

larger the gap between gender egalitarianism values and practices, the larger the PWH gender gap ($r = .28$, $p = .157$), which supports Hypothesis 2.

To capture possible confounding factors, we run hierarchical logistic regressions that also control for several sociodemographic factors, estimated jointly for men and women in a full interaction model with PWH as the dependent variable. As Table 1 shows, more political empowerment increases the probability that both men (coef. = 1.380, $p = .025$) and women (coef. = 1.660, $p = .007$) will experience PWH. The same applies for the composite gender gap index (women: coef. = 3.729, $p = .041$; men: coef. = 2.028, $p = .269$). Nonetheless, although the point estimates of the economic opportunity coefficients are positive for women (coef. = 0.915, $p = .393$) and negative for men (coef. = −0.225, $p = .833$) they are insignificant. In the regressions using the GLOBE indices, the coefficients for gender egalitarian *values* are positive but insignificant for both women (coef. = 0.373, $p = .219$) and men (coef. = 0.184, $p = .547$). Interestingly, the coefficients for gender egalitarianism *practices* are significantly negative (women: coef. = −0.726, $p = .033$; men: coef. = −0.714, $p = .037$), implying that policies which implement these practices can reduce the probability of men and women experiencing PWH. Furthermore, if the gap between values and practices increases, so does the probability of experiencing PWH (women: coef. = 0.552, $p = .014$; men: coef. = 0.422, $p = .062$).

Figure 4 illustrates the logistic regression results and shows the probabilities of perceiving harassment predicted from the logistic regression models as a function of the gender equality and egalitarianism indices for women and men, respectively. The figure shows that, on average for all indices, women are more likely than men to experience harassment. With the exception of societal practices and male economic opportunities, we also observe an increase in the

probability of harassment for both men and women with increasing gender equality and egalitarianism. Figure 4 shows that the probabilities of experiencing harassment diverge between men and women when gender equality and egalitarianism increase. This is the case for all indices with the exception of societal practices, for which we observe a downward and parallel trend for men and women. We are also able to test (with a chi^2 test) whether the slopes of these regression lines differ in a statistical sense for men and women. This is the case for all gender indices with the exception of political empowerment and societal practices. The results of these tests are shown in the fifth last row of Table 1. We also find that the average marginal effects are greater for women than for men (see Table 2), reflecting the steeper increase in the likelihood of perceiving harassment for women compared to men. The diverging probabilities of experiencing harassment in the case of increasing gender equality and egalitarianism confirm Hypothesis 1, and in turn support the resource theory. We also see in Table 2 that the marginal effect of the variable capturing the gap between societal values and practices is larger for women than for men. This result confirms Hypothesis 2 which states that the PWH gender gap will be greater in societies with a strong deviation between egalitarian values and practices.

6 | DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Not only is cross-cultural research on PWH scarce, but the few studies that do exist focus only on a small subset of countries and use nonrepresentative data. We thus know of no investigations that use nationally representative data to document PWH prevalence across a wide range of countries and cultures. Rather, Loh et al. (2010) use data from 317 full-time employees enrolled in postgraduate business
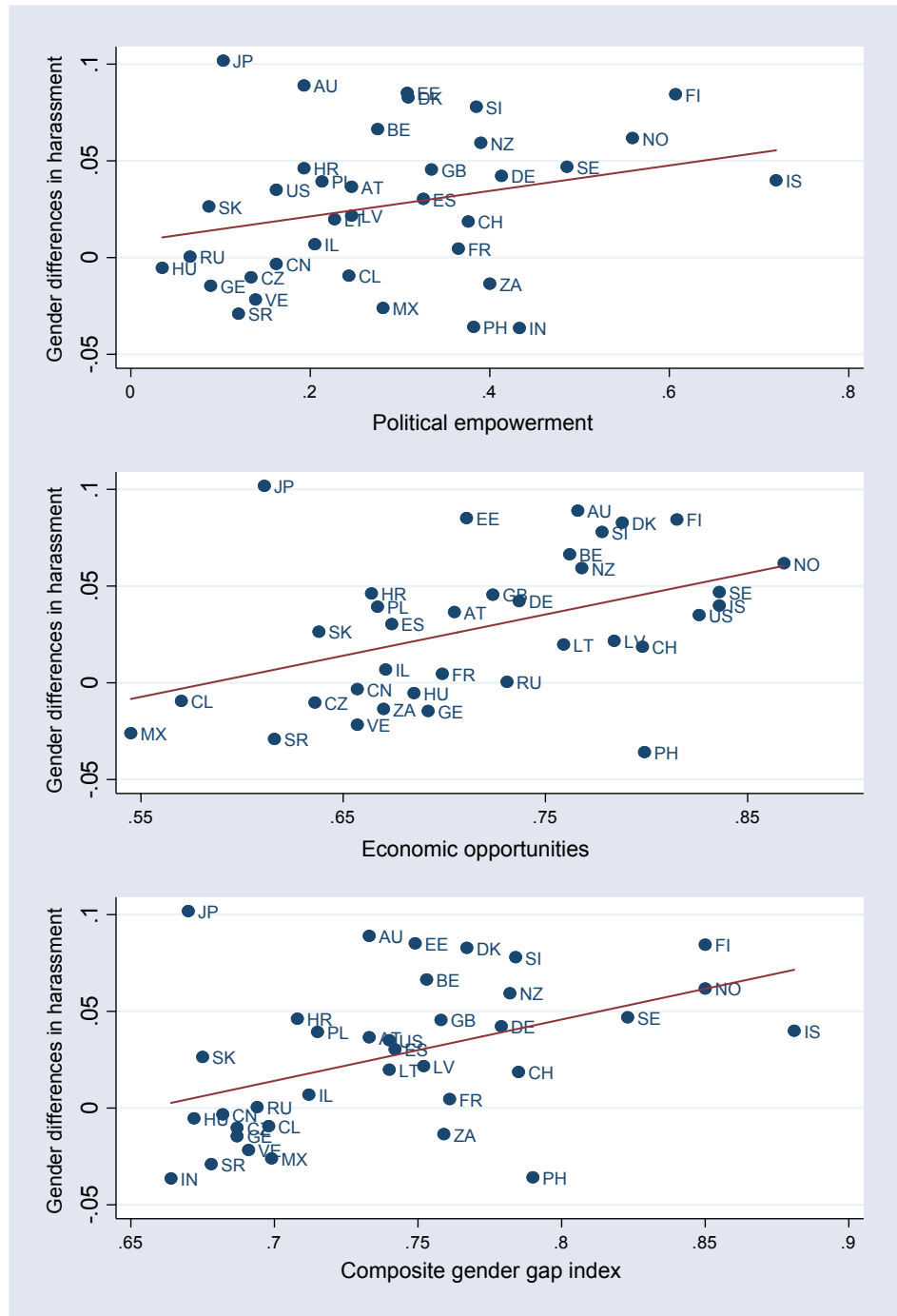
FIGURE 2 PWH gender differences, based on the WEF indices and 2015 ISSP data. The top, middle, and bottom graphs, respectively, show the correlations between the PWH gender gap and the WEF indices for economic opportunities for women, female political empowerment, and the WEF composite gender gap index

programs to demonstrate that the effects of bullying are stronger in the cultural context of Australia than in that of Singapore. They attribute this finding to lower power distance orientations in the former, which make bullying less of a standard behavior and thus more detrimental. Likewise, Power et al. (2013), by analyzing bullying data for 1,484 alumni and current master of business administration students from 14 countries on 6 continents, document that the acceptance of bullying differs across cultures, with highly performance-oriented societies (e.g., Confucian Asia) showing a

greater tolerance for bullying than less performance-oriented cultures or those with a higher humane or future orientation. Our study, in contrast, focuses neither on the effects nor the acceptability of harassment, but rather on its perceived prevalence in the workplace – three characteristics that, although interrelated, measure different aspects of PWH. Thus, for example, our results show that PWH prevalence in certain Confucian countries is high, even though these cultures may have greater tolerance for bullying. They also illustrate that differences in PWH prevalence among countries
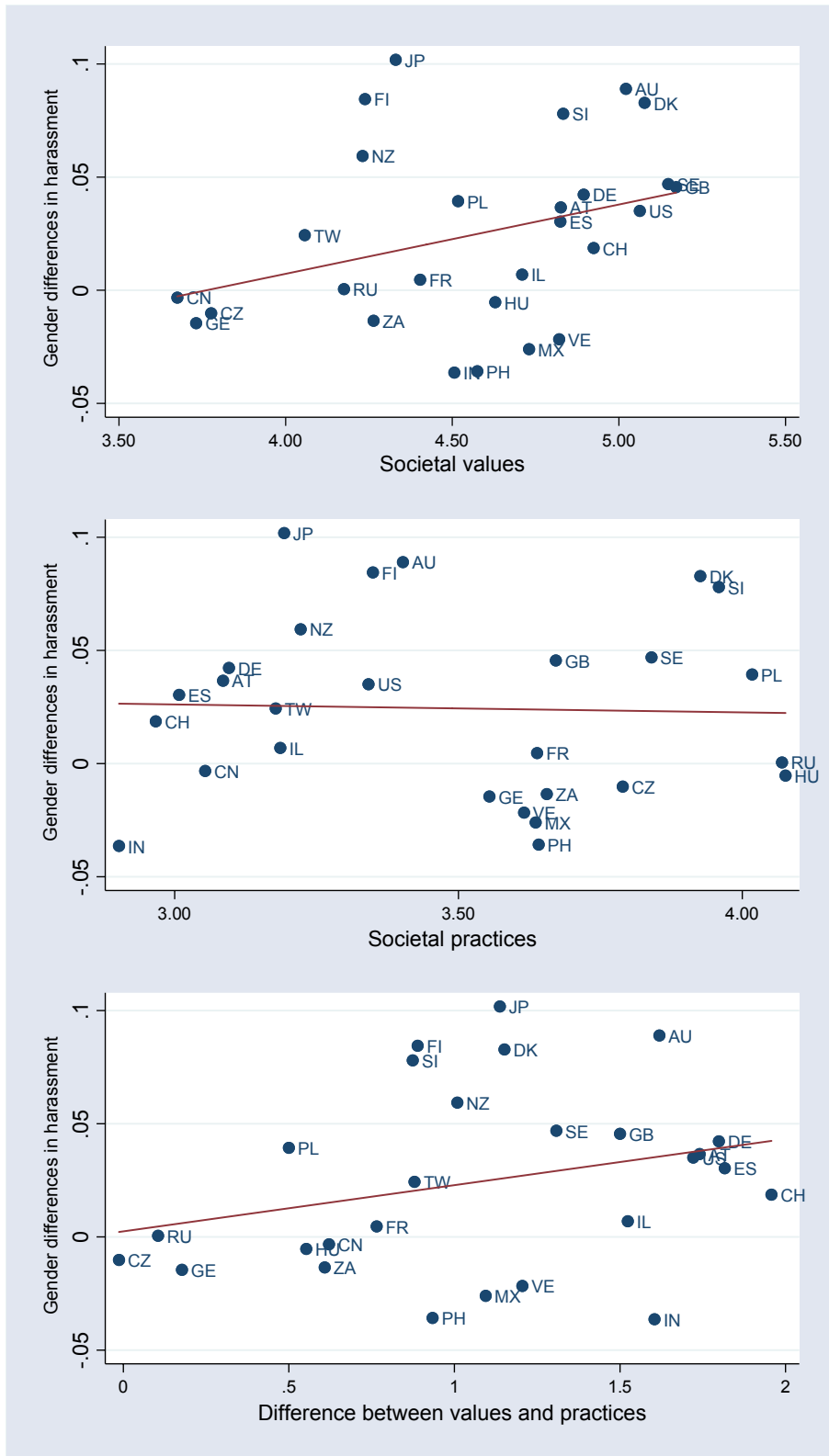
FIGURE 3 PWH gender differences, based on the GLOBE indices and 2015 ISSP data. The top, middle, and bottom graphs, respectively, show the correlations between the PWH gender gap and the GLOBE indices for gender egalitarianism values, gender egalitarianism practices, and the difference between the two

exist, even within the same cultural region. For instance, Taiwan has a much lower PWH prevalence than China or Japan, and the United Kingdom a much lower one than the United States.

The focus of our study is on the *differences* in PWH prevalence between women and men in different countries and cultures. In this regard, although women are slightly more likely (14% vs. 12%) to face

TABLE 1 Hierarchical logistic regressions

	[1]		[2]		[3]		[4]		[5]		[6]	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
Political empowerment	1.660*** (0.612)	1.380** (0.617)										
Economic opportunities			0.915 (1.073)	-0.225 (1.071)								
Gender gap index					3.729** (1.822)	2.028 (1.835)						
Societal values							0.373 (0.303)	0.184 (0.305)				
Societal practices									-0.726** (0.340)	-0.714** (0.341)		
Gender egalitarianism gap											0.552** (0.224)	0.422* (0.225)
[a]Chi²	1.86		12.83***		8.44***		4.92**		0.01		3.48*	
Log-Likelihood	-14,138		-14,135		-14,136		-10,784		-10,785		-10,783	
Chi²	376.44		381.20		379.09		291.11		289.84		293.68	
Number of clusters	36		36		36		27		27		27	
Number of observations	38,179		38,179		38,179		29,487		29,487		29,487	

Note: The analysis is based on 2015 ISSP data. The dependent variable is dichotomous and equal to one if the respondent has faced harassment, zero otherwise. Political empowerment, economic opportunity, and the gender gap index are derived from the WEF indices; gender egalitarianism values and practices from the GLOBE indices. The gender egalitarianism gap is the difference between gender egalitarianism values and practices. The regressions also include a constant and control for age, age^2, education, and education^2.

[a]Reports the results of a chi^2 test whether the coefficients reported for females and males are statistically equal (H_0) or different (H_a). Standard errors are given in parentheses. *$p < .1$; **$p < .05$; ***$p < .01$.
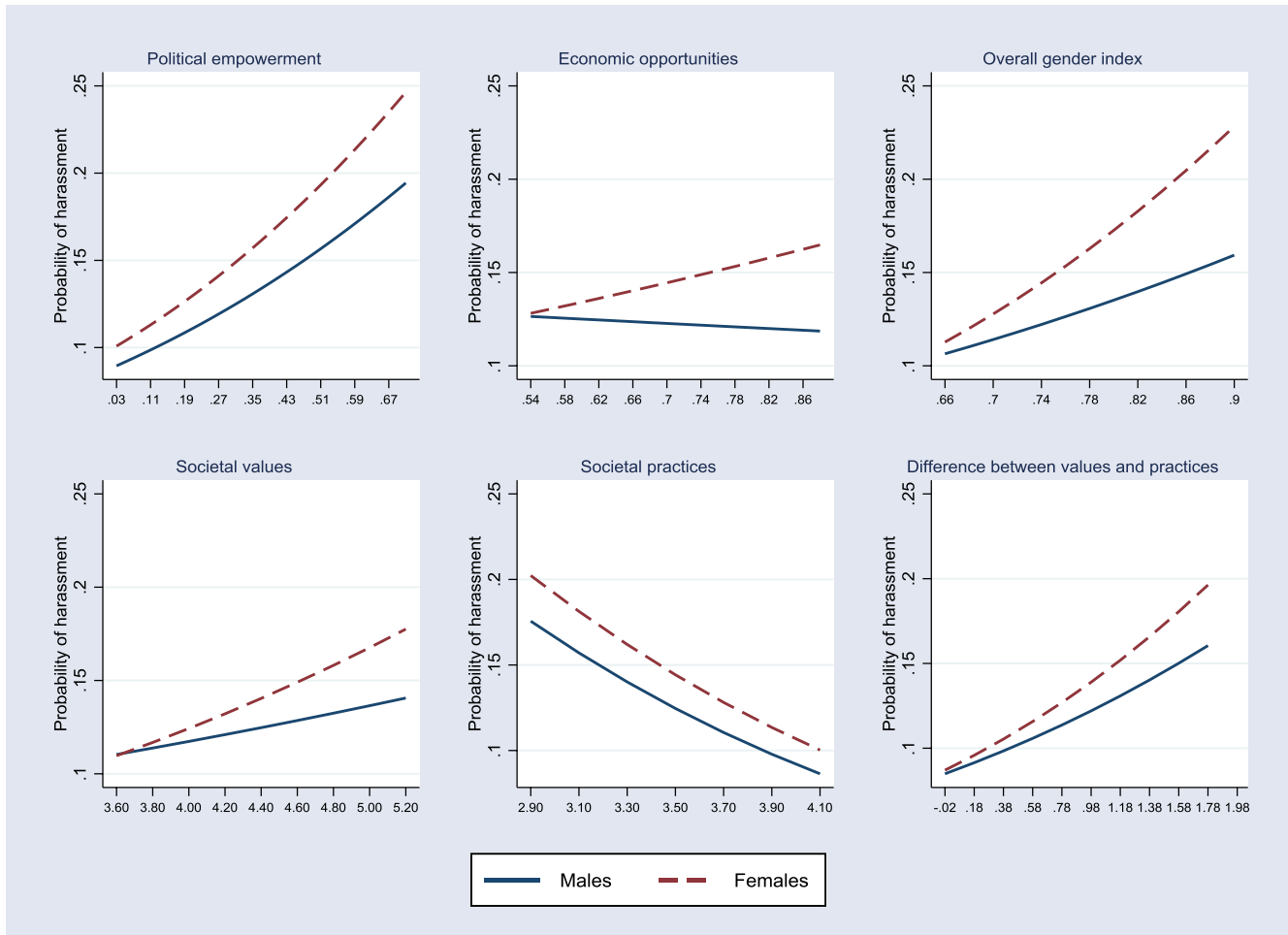
FIGURE 4 Predicted probabilities from hierarchical logistic regression models. The lines show the predicted probabilities of PWH based on the regression results in Table 1 for women and men, respectively. Political empowerment, economic opportunity, and the gender gap index are derived from the WEF indices; gender egalitarianism values and practices from the GLOBE indices. The gender egalitarianism gap is the difference between gender egalitarianism values and practices

TABLE 2 Average marginal effects for the hierarchical logistic regressions

	Women		Men	
	ME	SE	ME	SE
Political empowerment	0.196***	0.074	0.142**	0.065
Economic opportunities	0.108	0.127	−0.023	0.110
Gender gap index	0.440*	0.219	0.209	0.190
Societal values	0.044	0.036	0.019	0.032
Societal practices	−0.086**	0.041	−0.075**	0.037
Gender egalitarianism gap	0.065**	0.027	0.044*	0.024

Note: The analysis is based on 2015 ISSP data. The marginal effects are based on the regressions in Table 1. Political empowerment, economic opportunity, and the gender gap index are derived from the WEF indices; gender egalitarianism values and practices from GLOBE indices. The gender egalitarianism gap is the difference between gender egalitarianism values and practices. The regressions also include a constant and control for age, age^2, education, and $education^2$.

*$p < .1$; **$p < .05$; ***$p < .01$.

PWH than men across all 36 countries sampled, the male–female PWH differences vary greatly, ranging from 10.2% in Japan to −3.6% in India. It is thus unsurprising that the current literature––based mostly on single country analyses––is inconclusive on whether women are more likely to face workplace harassment than men. Even on a regional level, the results are unexpected, with the largest gender gap (and relatively high levels of PWH) recorded for the Nordic region, which is supposedly devoted to gender equality. This finding, which underscores the importance of perceptions when dealing with workplace harassment, also supports the resource hypothesis that informs our work; that is, perceptions of work place harassment increase with increasing gender equality for both men and women with a stronger effect for women and political empowerment in particular showing the steepest increase. These perceptions (including the lowering of the threshold for measures perceived as harassment) can only be developed independent of social norms and traditions when they obtain sufficient social resources. Because such attainment is enabled by greater gender equality, male–female perception differences are a function of the latter and arise as it increases: Therefore, gender differences in PWH between men and women increase with gender equality and egalitarianism.

Our analysis also underscores the importance of distinguishing between gender egalitarianism values and practices, both supposedly captured by the WEF gender gap index but perhaps in fact weighted toward value by the aggregate nature of the index dimensions. For example, the WEF's measuring of political empowerment by the male–female gap at the highest level of political decision making and the male–female ratios in ministerial and parliamentary positions does not necessarily capture gender equality practices at the individual level but could influence perceptions of gender equality and thus values. The GLOBE index, in contrast, provides distinct measures of gender egalitarian values and practices, with a higher score on the latter reducing the probability for both men and woman of perceiving workplace harassment. Moreover, the larger the gap between values and practices, the larger the probability of such perception, which implies that promoting gender equality values without implementing appropriate policies may actually accentuate PWH.

However, measurement of GLOBE practices is sometimes criticized on the grounds that it requires a high degree of abstraction from the respondents, and for most dimensions a negative correlation between practices (society as it is) and values (society as it should be) is found, which means that the questions about practices are not answered independently of the questions about values (Hofstede, 2010). Hofstede (2006) argues that when describing a society "as is," respondents also reflect their "should be" ideology. However, he finds a significant positive correlation between values and practices for the gender egalitarianism dimension ($r = 0.32$, $p <.05$) and attributes this to the fact that the questions relating to gender equality are relatively straightforward to answer, as they relate to basic human (male–female and parent–child) relationships with which respondents are innately familiar.

7 | LIMITATIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

One limitation of our research is the one-item harassment measure necessitated by the size and breadth of our database, which raises the risk of random measurement errors and unknown biases in meaning and interpretation. Nonetheless, although a multi-item harassment scale would be preferable, single item variables have proven reliable in such related fields as subjective well-being and alcohol (drug) abstinence self-efficacy (Hoeppner et al., 2011; Wanous et al., 1997). Furthermore, as the overview in Table A4 depicts, much of the literature is based on such one-item measures. Our data cannot either discern whether respondents are answering truthful or not. Thus, it could be that women in countries with less gender equality did not dare to report harassment. However, considering the format of the ISSP survey (telephonic survey in most countries) and the general nature of both the survey (focusing on orientations toward work) and the harassment question (which asks respondents to assess whether in the past 5 years they experienced some form of harassment), we do not think that the pressure to conceal the truth

is particularly strong. Should respondents in countries with less gender equality conceal the truth, then this would strengthen the positive correlation between levels of harassment and gender equality. However, "concealing the truth" would be very much in-line with the resource hypothesis.

It should also be noted that the ISSP question on harassment is framed in a rather general format, which does not exclude other types of discrimination or sexual harassment. Thus, responses can potentially include all forms of mistreatment from gender-based mistreatment such as gender discrimination and sexual harassment, to non-gender-based mistreatment such as any type of discrimination (e.g., against individuals' sexual orientation or gender identity, disabled employees, ethnicity, age, and so forth), abusive supervision and mobbing.

Another concern is that culture-specific survey responses could bias our results (Guimond, 2008), although we observe differences in the level of PWH even within similar cultures such as China and Taiwan. Nevertheless, these two limitations offer promising avenues for future research; in particular, the compilation from across a large sample of culturally distinct countries of multi-item harassment measures that also capture different attitudes toward PWH. Finally, the paper uses cross-sectional data which does not allow us to ascertain clear causality.

A further potential limitation of our analysis could be that the collection of GLOBE data, published in 2004 (House et al., 2004) and collected about a decade earlier, lags far behind the collection of the 2015 ISSP data, and, therefore, could imply change of values and practices. However, a recent study on gender differences in academic achievement uses gender equality measures from both GLOBE data and the more recent World Value Survey (Eriksson et al., 2020). When achievement differences between boys and girls are predicted as a function of gender equality, both data sources yield very similar results.

8 | PRACTICAL AND THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

Knowing the prevalence of PWH is important for businesses because it contributes to several negative organizational outcomes, including higher turnover and absenteeism rates, worse health, lower motivation, and lower levels of job satisfaction (Aquino & Thau, 2009; Einarsen & Mikkelsen, 2003; Harnois & Bastos, 2018; Kivimäki et al., 2003). Moreover, as businesses become more culturally diverse and maintain subsidiaries in many different countries, understanding different gender-specific PWH is crucial to implementing effective HR policies to combat harassment. Only with a detailed understanding of culturally distinct perceptions of abusive behaviors can business management take appropriate preventive actions (e.g., information campaigns and training programs) that facilitate the emergence of shared meanings among employees with the objective of marking acceptable versus unacceptable behaviors and developing and implementing appropriate codes of conduct

(Escartín et al., 2010). Above all, our results highlight the danger of merely paying lip service to gender equality, because a discrepancy between corporate values and practices on this issue will only accentuate the perception of harassment particularly among women.

From a Foucauldian perspective, harassment is the exercise of power without legitimation. Therefore, to move beyond a narrow understanding of harassment as a conflict management issue, Foucault's relational conception of power offers fundamental explanations. As Townley (1993) points out, power is not a commodity associated with institutions or persons, thus making the questions of "who has power?" or "where, or in what, does power reside?" (p. 520) irrelevant. What Foucault termed the "how" of power encompasses the practices, techniques, and procedures which give power its effect (Townley, 1993), and which are immanent to the globalized system of corporate capitalism to which employees have to submit (Barker & Cheney, 1994; Vandekerckhove & Commers, 2003). Thus, policies toward harassment should address power dynamics and critically investigate the "how" that gives power its effect. As harassment can also be a strategy to govern conduct and suppress dissent (Hutchinson & Jackson, 2015) such discourse must reach its full ethical potential (Vandekerckhove & Commers, 2003) in order to be effective. Vandekerckhove and Commers (2003) further argue that particularly in the light of globalization and competition, organizations are under continuous pressure to remodel and adjust through new forms of knowledge, which in turn require the formation of new rules of right as "contours of authority, the formal delineations of power governing life within a social system" (Barker & Cheney, 1994, p. 24). Our analysis underlines the importance that gender equality plays in defining such new rules of right––and the dangers of delegitimizing (predominantly male) power structures in the absence of effective practises that match evolving gender egalitarianism values in society.

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CONFLICT OF INTEREST

The authors declare that they have no conflict of interest.

ETHICAL APPROVAL

This article uses confidentialized unit-record file data from the International Social Survey Program (ISSP). ISSP members, the national field questionnaires, and field work, all comply with the given legal requirements in each country. Data are anonymized so that individual survey participants cannot be identified.

PEER REVIEW

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APPENDIX A

TABLE A1 Summary statistics

	Full sample		Males		Females	
	Mean	*SD*	**Mean**	*SD*	**Mean**	*SD*
Harassment (1 = yes, 0 = no)	0.13	0.34	0.12	0.33	0.14	0.35
Age	45.86	15.63	46.07	15.86	45.66	15.41
Education	12.89	4.03	12.75	4.01	13.01	4.05
Political empowerment (WEF)	0.29	0.15	0.29	0.15	0.29	0.16
Economic opportunity (WEF)	0.71	0.09	0.71	0.10	0.71	0.09
Composite gender gap index (WEF)	0.74	0.05	0.74	0.05	0.74	0.05
Gender egalitarian values (GLOBE)	4.55	0.43	4.56	0.42	4.54	0.44
Gender egalitarian practices (GLOBE)	3.48	0.35	3.47	0.36	3.50	0.35
Differences between values and practices (GLOBE)	1.06	0.56	1.09	0.55	1.04	0.57

Note: Descriptive statistics for age, education, political empowerment, economic opportunity, and the composite gender gap index are based on the regression samples in Tables 1 and 2. When WEF indicators (36 countries) are used, sample sizes refer to *N* = 38,179 for the full sample and *N* = 18,160 and 20, 019 for males and females, respectively. When GLOBE indicators (27 countries) are used, sample sizes refer to *N* = 29,487 for the full sample and *N* = 14,272 and 15,215 for males and females, respectively.

Indices	Measurement
Economic participation and opportunity	Ratio 1. female labor force participation over male value; 2. wage equality between women and men for similar work; 3. female estimated income over male value; 4. female legislators, senior officials and manager over male value; 5. female professional and technical workers over male value
Political empowerment	Ratio 1. females with seats in parliament over male value; 2. females at ministerial level over male value; 3. number of years of a female head of state over male value

TABLE A3 Indices from the GLOBE data set

Gender egalitarianism societal values (should be)

I believe that boys should be(are) encouraged to attain a higher education more than girls (strongly agree: 1; strongly disagree: 7).

I believe that there should be more emphasis on athletic programs for (boys: 1; girls: 7)

I believe that this society would be more effectively managed if there were (many more women in positions of authority than there are now: 1; many less women in positions of authority than there are now: 7).

I believe that it should be worse for a boy to fail in school than for a girl to fail in school (strongly agree: 1; strongly disagree: 7).

I believe that opportunities for leadership positions should be (more available for men than for women: 1; more available for women than for men: 7).

Gender egalitarianism societal practices (as is)

In this society, boys are encouraged more than girls to attain a higher education (strongly agree: 1; strongly disagree: 7).

In this society, there is more emphasis on athletic programs for (boys: 1; girls: 7).

In this society, it is worse for a boy to fail in school than for a girl to fail in school (strongly agree: 1; strongly disagree: 7).

In this society, people are generally (physical: 1; non-physical: 7).

In this society, who is more likely to serve in a position of high office (men: 1; women: 7)?

TABLE A4 Overview of workplace harassment, gender, and culture

Study (year)	Data/Sample	Country	Harassment measure	Focus	Main results
Gender					
Björkqvist et al. (1994)	338 employees from universities	Finland	Measure capturing exposure to 24 types of bullying by work colleagues in the last 6 months	Explore harassment and aggression among university employees	Females experience harassment more than males
Einarsen and Skogstad (1996)	7,986 employees from 13 different organizations	Norway	Single item capturing whether a respondent had been subjected to bullying during the last 6 months	Explore the prevalence of harassment and identifying risk groups in harassment	No gender difference in prevalence of harassment
Cortina et al. (2001)	1,662 employees from the public sector	United States	Workplace incivility was measured by a 7-item scale in the previous 5 years	Examine the incidence, targets, instigators, and impact of incivility	Women endured greater frequencies of incivility yet similar negative effects between males and females
Salin (2003)	385 employees working in manufacturing, wholesale and retail trade, and business services	Finland	How often an individual experienced 32 negative and potentially harassing acts over the past 12 months	Explore the prevalence and forms of bullying and the related factors among business professionals	Females reported being bullied more often than males
Eriksen and Einarsen (2004)	6,485 assistant nursing staff	Norway	Single item capturing whether a respondent had been subjected to bullying during the last 6 months	Test whether gender minority is a risk factor of exposure to bullying	Males are more often exposed to bullying than females
Montgomery et al. (2004)	584 business students from universities in California	United States	Self-assessment of the appropriateness of the behavior exhibited by the senators toward Anita Hill	Test the associations among race and sex of the observers and their perceptions of the appropriation of behaviors	Males and females have different thresholds at which they perceive a violation of their norms of respect, and perceptions may be affected by social identification
Simpson and Cohen (2004)	378 employees from one single university	United Kingdom	Questionnaire devised by the Association of University Teachers[c]	Investigate gender differences in the nature and experience of bullying within higher education	Females are more likely than males to be the targets of bullying
Ortega et al. (2009)	3,429 employees aged 20–59 years randomly selected from the Danish Centralized Civil Register	Denmark	Single item capturing bullying in the past year	Estimate the prevalence of bullying and identify risk groups in a representative population sample	No gender difference in the prevalence of bullying; types of work and gender ratio are risk factors in the onset of bullying
Moreno-Jiménez et al. (2008)	103 employees from the city of Madrid working in the transport and communication sector	Spain	13-item scale capturing different forms of bullying in the past 12 months. Principal component analysis identified three dimensions: Social Isolation, Discredit, and Extreme Demands	Explore the prevalence and forms of bullying in a sample of Spanish employees	Women are more likely to experience bullying than men

(Continues)

TABLE A4 (Continued)

Study (year)	Data/Sample	Country	Harassment measure	Focus	Main results
Vartia and Hyytti (2002)	896 prison officers	Finland	Single item capturing whether a respondent had been subjected to bullying during the last 6 months	The gender difference in the perception of bullying among prison officers	No gender difference in the prevalence and the negative outcomes of perceived harassment
Jóhannsdóttir and Ólafsson (2004)	398 members of a large union in 9 companies and members of a national organization of bank employees	Iceland	Single item capturing bullying in the past year	Explore bullying, victimization and coping strategies	No gender difference for being bullied or for witnessing the bullying of others
Giorgi et al. (2013)	699 employees from different occupations randomly selected from 5 Japanese unions	Japan	Single item capturing whether an individual experienced bullying in the last 6 months	Explore the prevalence rate and antecedents of bullying in Japan	Females reported higher levels of bullying than men
Cunniff and Mostert (2012)	13,911 employees of different races in all nine provinces	South Africa	Bullying was measured using four dimensions: direct, indirect, by supervisors, and by colleagues	Explore gender differences in bullying	Males reported more bullying than females
Adewumi and Danesi (2017)	650 employees across various institutions and sectors	Nigeria	Negative Acts Questionnaire-Revised (NAQ-R)[d]	Explore the role that gender categorization plays in bullying relations	No gender difference in terms of exposure to bullying
Lange et al. (2019)	4,143 employees aged 31–60 years from the first wave of S-MGA[a] in 2011/2012	Germany	Self-reported workplace bullying was assessed by four questions[b]	Examine the prevalence of bullying in Germany	No gender difference in prevalence rates
Culture					
Cowie et al. (2000)	607 employees from international organizations in Portugal and the United Kingdom	Portugal and United Kingdom	Six single questions addressing whether the participant had been subject to the given definition of bullying in the last 6 months?	Compare the nature of bullying between Portugal and United Kingdom	The proportion of victims in Portugal was twice as high (33.5%) as in the United Kingdom (15.4%)
Varhama and Björkqvist (2004)	Poland (66 workers) and Finland (330 workers) from two companies with Finnish ownership	Poland and Finland	Instrument of the psychosocial workplace inventory by Björkqvist and Österman (1996)	Explore the prevalence of conflicts, burnout, and bullying among employees of the two countries	Conflicts and bullying were more common in Poland while burnout was more common in Finland
Lutgen-Sandvik et al. (2007)	469 workers from 18 industries, living in 33 states, and aged 18–57	United States and Scandinavian countries	Negative Acts Questionnaire-Revised (NAQ-R)	Explore the prevalence of bullying among U.S. workers and compare results with Scandinavian studies	Negative acts might lead to perceptions of being bullied and negativity is higher in United States than in Scandinavian countries
Liu et al. (2009)	268 MBA and EMBA students	Taiwan and United States	One subscale of Roger and Nesshoever's (1987) Emotional Control Questionnaire[e]	Individual and cultural antecedents of incivility	Individual achievement orientation would enhance incivility and collectivism orientation constrains these main effects

(Continues)

TABLE A4 (Continued)

Study (year)	Data/Sample	Country	Harassment measure	Focus	Main results
Loh et al. (2010)	165 Singaporean and 152 Australian employees	Singapore and Australia	9-item scale developed by Hoel and Cooper (2000) and Cooper et al. (2004)	Relationship between bullying, job satisfaction, and workgroup identification	The relationship between bullying and outcomes was stronger for Australian employees than for Singaporean employees
Escartín et al. (2011)	Study 1:246 employees from Spain and Costa Rica; Study 2:300 employees from Spain	Spain and Costa Rica	Study 1: single item: What is bullying in your opinion?; Study 2:35-item scale to assess the severity of bullying	Explore the significance of gender for how employees define bullying and how severe they rate different forms of bullying	Women were more likely to think of emotional abuse and to rate relational forms of aggression as more severe than men did
Escartín, Zapf, et al. (2011)	Costa Rica (120 employees) and Spain (126 employees)	Costa Rica and Spain	A single, open-ended question	Comparison study between central America and Southern Europe about the understanding of bullying	Employees from central America emphasized the physical component of bullying more than southern European employees, but similarities in the conceptualization of bullying across both cultures were found
Power et al. (2013)	1,484 alumni and current MBA students from 14 countries on 6 continents	14 countries	Modified version of the Negative Acts Questionnaire-Revised (NAQ-R)	Explore the impact of culture on the acceptability of bullying across countries	Culture with high performance orientation is more acceptable to bullying than those with high future orientation
Arenas et al. (2015)	1,393 employees from 10 medium sized Italian organizations	Italy	Italian version of the Negative Acts Questionnaire-Revised (NAQ-R); measures the frequency of exposition to 17 specific negative acts at work within the last 6 months	Relationship between workplace bullying, job satisfaction, and psychological well-being	U-shape curvilinear relationship between workplace bullying and job satisfaction in a culture of low human orientation
Giorgi et al. (2015)	Italy (1,151 employees) and Spain (705 employees)	Italy and Spain	Italian version of the Negative Acts Questionnaire-Revised (NAQ-R) (Moreno-Jiménez et al., 2008) applied in Spain and the validated version in Italy	Explore the prevalence rate of bullying in Italy and Spain and its consequences on employees' job satisfaction and psychological well-being	Negative relationship between bullying and job satisfaction and psychological well-being. But the extent of this relationship is influenced by country context

(Continues)

TABLE A4 (Continued)

Study (year)	Data/Sample	Country	Harassment measure	Focus	Main results
Yoo et al. (2015)	South Korea (50,032 employees) and European Union (41,302 employees)	E.U. countries and South Korea	Mistreatment was measured by three dimensions including discrimination, violence and bullying in the past 12 months	Investigate effects of workers' culture and personal characters on the relationship between workplace mistreatment and health problems	The prevalence of workplace mistreatment and health problems was higher in EU countries than in South Korea
Yoo and Lee (2018)	307 workers from healthcare, education, and banking industries	South Korea	NAQ-R within the previous 6 months	Explore the associations between bullying and employees' well-being and whether the associations were mediated by work-family conflict	Negative relationship between bullying and well-being which were mediated by work-family conflict
Salin et al. (2019)	199 Human resource professionals	13 countries	The acceptability and under what circumstances respondents label-specific behaviors (generated from NAQ) as bullying	Explore cross-cultural similarities and differences in perceptions and conceptualizations of workplace bullying among human resource professionals	Respondents from different countries largely viewed personal harassment and physical violence as bullying, while work-related negative acts, and social exclusion were construed quite differently
Meriläinen et al. (2019)	1,191 employees from universities	Finland and Estonia	NAQ-22 R covering three underlying factors: personal bullying, work-related bullying and physically intimidating forms of bullying	A comparative analysis on the prevalence, nature, and manifestations of experienced bullying	The prevalence rate of bullying in Estonia is higher than Finland

Note: Studies were selected based on a search in google scholar using the following key words (and subsets thereof): "bullying," "harassment," "work," "gender," and "culture." Only empirical studies in English were considered. We restricted our search to research published after 2000, although we made two exceptions for the seminal papers Björkqvist et al. (1994) and Einarsen and Skogstad (1996).
[a]Study on Mental Health at Work (S-MGA), a nation-wide representative panel study with the first assessment taking place in 2011/2012.; [b]"Do you frequently feel unjustly criticized, hassled or shown up in front of others by co-workers? Do you frequently feel unjustly criticized, hassled or shown up in front of others by superiors? Each of these two questions was followed by the question: How often did it occur in the last 6 months?; [c]The questionnaire includes three parts: part 1 sought information on the personal experience of bullying or the witnessing of bullying, part 2 referred to awareness of policies on bullying and whom respondents would approach if bullied, part 3 requested some personal information such as gender, contractual type, length of service.; [d]Negative Acts Questionnaire-Revised (NAQ-R) is based on 22 items that reflect negative acts at work.; [e]Roger and Nesshoever's (1987) Emotional Control Questionnaire (ECQ) is a more general measure of uncivil behavior and the scale has been validated by a cross-cultural sample. The measure has 11 items each of which assesses tendencies to be uncivil.